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ABSTRACT

A summary of the school restructuring movement and an outline of strategies for implementation are presented. The underlying principles of restructuring are included in four broad strategies, which include school-based management, teacher empowerment, voice/choice, and teaching for understanding. New responsibilities for state policymakers include taking a leadership role in interacting with educational stakeholders, supporting restructuring principles, and setting accountability standards. A conclusion is that state policy actors' primary responsibilities are policy formation and evaluation, which leaves process and implementation to local participants. (59 references) (LMI)

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# POLICY ISSUES

## RESTRUCTURING AMERICA'S SCHOOLS

BY

JOSEPH MURPHY
PEABODY COLLEGE
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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In the early 1980s, a concerted effort to reform American public education began. The impetus for the various attempts was primarily economic. Analysts from all walks of society concluded that America was on the verge of being displaced as a major player in the world economy. The belief that we were falling behind other industrial powers in development, productivity, and quality was a theme that laced the pages of the various reform reports.

For a variety of reasons, criticisms of these early efforts to reform schooling were quickly forthcoming. The general consensus among critics of these so-called Wave 1 reform measures was that they were taking educators down the wrong road, the road of the quick fix, and were using inappropriate policy tools to improve schooling, especially mandates from the top. These reformers argued that fundamental revisions were needed in the cultural institutions of the larger society, in the ways that education systems were organized and governed, in the roles adults played in schools, and in the educational processes used to educate America's youth. The belief that the current system was beyond repair began to take root. Analysts called for a complete overhaul of the education system--a comprehensive attempt to rework the basic fabric of schooling, or a restructuring of the educational enterprise. The purpose of this report is to capture what is known about the restructuring movement and to outline what state policymakers can do to promote fundamental reform in schools.

Restructuring has become a rubric for a wide-ranging series of endeavors to improve education by introducing fundamentally different methods of school governance and significantly different ways of organizing schooling, particularly the work performed by teachers and the teaching-learning process unfolding in classrooms. Restructuring generally encompasses systemic changes in one or more of the following: organization and governance structures, work roles and organizational milieu, the core technology (the teaching-learning process), and connections between the school and its larger environment. Restructuring also involves fundamental alterations in the relationships between the players involved in the educational process--stakeholders at the state, district, and school levels. Almost all the elements of restructuring, as well as its underlying principles, are contained in four broad strategies that comprise this education movement:

- School-based management. Two threads are central to all definitions of school-based management--structural decentralization and devolution of authority. Structural decentralization entails the dismantling of larger organizational units into smaller, more responsive ones. Devolution of authority--the core concept in school-based management--requires that schools be given greater responsibility and authority for their own affairs. Many decisions on budget, curriculum, personnel, and structural arrangements formerly made at the district or state level become the province of the teachers, parents, administrators, and students at the local school site.

- Teacher empowerment. Professionalizing teaching includes providing teachers with formal decisionmaking authority and other avenues of influence. It also entails comprehensive changes in the work performed by teachers, including expanded responsibilities in the decisionmaking arena, the undertaking of new roles (e.g., master teacher), and the development of more permanent career opportunities that permit teachers to advance without leaving the classroom.

- Voice/choice. Three changes in governance structures and in the authority flows between schools and their constituents are at the center of this aspect of the restructuring movement. First, restructuring schools empower parents and community members. This enhanced decisionmaking responsibility is usually captured in new governance arrangements that formalize transfer of authority to citizens in the school community. Second, they expand the school community--they unite parents, professional educators, businesses, universities, foundations, and the general populace into a collective force dedicated to the improvement of schooling for all children. Third, the notion of parental choice is thoroughly intertwined in discussions about transforming the relationship between schools and their communities.

- Teaching for understanding. The curricula in restructured schools are characterized by both greater complexity and greater cohesion. Seven changes are often found: (1) expanded use of a core curriculum, (2) an increase in the interdisciplinary nature of content, (3) emphasis on depth of coverage, (4) use of more original source materials, (5) enhanced focus on higher order learning skills, (6) expanded methods of student assessment, and (7) additional teacher choice. Changes are also evident in the area of instruction, with a shift from teacher-centered to learner-centered pedagogy. The emphasis is on the student, not on the delivery system. A focus on acquiring information is replaced by a concern for ability to use knowledge. Teachers act as facilitators and coaches. The limited teacher-directed model of instruction that has dominated traditional classrooms gives way to a greater variety of approaches. Instruction becomes less generic and more personalized. Cooperative approaches to learning in which students work together in teams are stressed. Calendar-based school organizations give way to structures grounded on three powerful concepts: (1) mastery- (or outcome-) based learning, (2) developmentally-based learning, and (3) the personalization of learning.

In the era of school restructuring, the roles of state policymakers and the perspectives they bring to school improvement look significantly different than they have in the past. They reflect a major shift away from the historically ingrained role of monitor of educational process. In its stead, a new tripartite set of responsibilities emerges. First,

state actors can take the lead role in working with all stakeholders in the educational process to establish a vision of education and to translate that vision into desired student outcomes. Second, they can support—through as wide an array of methods as possible—efforts at the district, school, and classroom level to empower parents and professional educators, to nurture the evolution of new forms of governance and organization, and to encourage the development of a new core technology for classrooms. Third, they can hold systems accountable for what they accomplish. Operating under this guideline, state policy actors would be much less involved in the micro-level management of the educational enterprise. Rather, they would play a key role in setting direction and for assessing results (not processes or efforts). Parents, professional educators, and students in each school, in turn, would be much freer to direct their own destinies.

## INTRODUCTION

> President Bush and the nation's governors walked away from last week's educational summit with an unprecedented agreement to establish national performance goals and to engineer a radical restructuring of America's educational system (Miller, 1989, October 4, p. 1).

Today the world of education is being bombarded with discussions about and proposals to dramatically alter the landscape of American schooling. Restructuring has become a rubric for a wide-ranging series of endeavors to improve education by introducing fundamentally different methods of school governance and significantly different ways of organizing schooling, particularly the work performed by teachers and the teaching-learning process unfolding in classrooms.

The purpose of this AEL/NCEL paper is to summarize what is known about the restructuring movement and to outline what state policymakers can do to promote fundamental reform in schools. We begin by placing restructuring within the context of the larger reform movement that burst upon the world of education in the early 1980s. Next, we examine the foundations of efforts to radically reform schooling. In this second section, we uncover the infrastructure that is at the heart of the movement. We also unpack the underlying principles of restructuring. Collectively, the principles suggest that we may be poised on the brink of a paradigm shift in our views of schooling. We spend considerable time on the foundations section of the paper because we are convinced that these issues form the core of attempts to transform schooling. Stated another way, we believe that the specific strategies and

components of restructuring—e.g.,school-based management, parental choice—are much less important than are the enduring principles upon which they rest. In the third section of the paper, we lay out a framework that displays the major aspects of restructuring—the actors, components, strategies, and metaphors of transformational change. After that description, we turn our attention to the topic of what state policymakers can do to facilitate the restructuring of American public schooling.

## REFORM AS PRELUDE TO RESTRUCTURING

In the early 1980s, a concerted effort to reform American public education began. The impetus for these attempts was primarily economic. Analysts from all walks of society concluded that America was on the verge of being displaced as a major player in the world economy. The belief that we were falling behind other industrial powers in development, productivity, and quality was a leitmotiv of the various reform reports (see for example Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy, 1986; Education Commission of the States, 1983; National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983; National Governors' Association, 1986; for a review see Murphy, 1990). It did not take reformers long to draw a connection between this economic impotence and the education system. Nor was the potential for schooling to restore America's economic preeminence ignored:

> Sinking economic productivity, national debt, international commercial competition, trade deficits, and a declining dollar placed the nation in increasing economic jeopardy. Schooling was seen as part of the problem and part of the solution (Guthrie & Kirst, 1988, p. 4; see also Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1986; Kearnes, 1988a,b).

Once the failure of schools to produce literate and numerate graduates was both documented (see Murphy, 1990) and inexorably linked to our declining economic position in the world marketplace, investigators began dissecting the education system in search of explanations. The fundamental conclusion of these analyses (see for example Boyer, 1983; Chubb, 1988; Goodlad, 1984; Powell, Farrar, & Cohen, 1985; Sedlak, Wheeler, Pullin, & Cusick, 1986; Sizer, 1984) was that schools were characterized by intellectual softness, a lack of expectations and standards, inadequate leadership, a dysfunctional organizational structure, conditions of employment inconsistent with professional work, and the absence of any meaningful accountability. When the system was laid open to review, the basic infrastructure was found to be in need of serious repair. The luster had worn off the educational enterprise.

The concern ensuing from this analysis, in conjunction with the original economic fears, launched the most widespread, intense, public, comprehensive, and sustained effort to improve education in our nation's history (McCarthy, 1990; Odden & Marsh, 1988). Fueled by a plethora of commissioned national and state reform reports, attempts to strengthen the quality of public education began to unfold in states, districts, and schools throughout the nation. Initial, or Wave 1 (1982-1986), reform efforts focused on restoring quality by fixing the existing education system. The philosophical infrastructure of early suggestions for repair was highly mechanistic in nature, being comprised mainly of centralized controls and standards (Boyd, 1987; Sedlak et al., 1986). The assumptions embedded in this approach suggest that the conditions of

schooling contributing to poor student-outcome measures are attributable to the poor quality of the workers and the inadequacy of their tools and that these problems are subject to revision through mandated, top-down initiatives--especially those from the state. Use of the bureaucratic model to institute improvement proposals led in turn to the emphasis in early reform efforts on policy mechanisms such as prescriptions, tightly specified resource allocations, and performance measurements that focused on repairing components of the system (e.g., writing better textbooks) and raising the quality of the workforce by telling employees how to work--e.g., specifying instructional models (see Coombs, 1987; Hawley, 1988). A dizzying array of reform initiatives was discussed in reform reports and studies and subsequently passed into law by the various states.

For a variety of reasons, criticism of these early efforts to reform schooling were quickly forthcoming (see for example Chubb, 1988; Cuban, 1984; Elmore, 1987; Purpel, 1989; Sedlak et al., 1986; Sizer, 1984). The general consensus among critics of Wave 1 reform measures was that they were taking educators down the wrong road--the road of the quick fix--and were using inappropriate policy tools to improve schooling, especially mandates from the top. These reformers argued that fundamental revisions were needed in the cultural institutions of the larger society, in the ways that education systems were organized and governed, in the roles adults played in schools, and in the educational processes used to educate America's youth. The belief that the current system was beyond repair began to take root. Analysts called for a complete overhaul of

the education system--a comprehensive attempt to rework the basic fabric of schooling, or a restructuring (rebuilding, reinvention, reformation, revolution, rethinking, or transformation) of the educational enterprise.

## RESTRUCTURING SCHOOLS: THE FOUNDATION

Not surprisingly, reformers who argue for a major transformation in American education have built their ideas on different foundations and constructed their edifices with different materials than those employed in the early and mid-1980s. Embedded in their views of education are the seeds for a paradigm shift in schooling (Finn, 1990).

### Restructuring: The Infrastructure

The major philosophical foundation of Wave 2 reformers is that education improvement is contingent upon empowering teachers to work more effectively with students (Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy, 1986; Holmes Group, 1986). A less well ingrained but still persistent theme is that real change also depends upon empowering parents (Chubb, 1988; Kearnes, 1988a, 1988b). The major policy mechanism employed in Wave 2 reforms has been "power distribution"--a perspective that

> assume[s] that schools can be improved by distributing political power among the various groups who have legitimate interests in the nature and quality of educational services. Reforms that seek to reallocate power and authority among various stakeholders are based on the belief that when power is in the right hands, schools will improve (Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1986, p. 13).

Unlike the strategy employed in the earlier era of reform, this change model is designed to capitalize on the energy and creativity of individuals at the school site:

> Perhaps most importantly, however, the individual school is the focus of the second wave of reform. While previous reports called for leadership, it was generally at the state level; now the cry is for local involvement and reforms that improve what happens in the classroom itself (Green, 1987, p. 4).
>
> Putting policy changes into effect--actually implementing what the reformers have called for--is a responsibility that will fall on local schools. That is where the leadership must come from if the promise of education reform is to be realized (Doyle & Hartle, 1985, p. 24).

Underlying almost all second-wave proposals is the assumption that the problems in education can be ascribed to the structure of schooling--"that the highest impediment to progress is the nature of the system itself" (Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy, 1986, p. 40). The bureaucratic infrastructure of education has been subjected to close scrutiny and has been found to be failing (Clark & Meloy, 1989; Frymier, 1987):

> We are learning, for instance, that deeply ingrained "ways of organizing," often written into statutes and legally binding regulations, are more clearly attributable to educator self-interest, prevailing prejudice, and the deeply ingrained mythology of schooling, than to any firm knowledge base (Erickson, 1979, p. 9).

It is not surprising that the focus of improvement in this era of reform has been on the professionals who populate schools and on the conditions they need to work effectively, including basic changes in the organizational arrangements of schooling--a shift from mechanistic, structure-enhancing strategies to a professional approach to reform and from "regulation and compliance monitoring to mobilization of institutional capacity" (Timar & Kirp, 1988, p. 75). Nor is it surprising that reformers who consider the basic structure of schools as the root of education's problems should propose more far-reaching and

radical solutions than their predecessors, who believed that the current system could be repaired (Boyd, 1987; Perry, 1988):

> We recommend nothing less than a revolution in the role of the teacher and the management of schools in order to upgrade the quality and professionalism of the U.S. teacher work force (Committee for Economic Development, cited in the Carnegie Forum for Education and the Economy, 1986, p. 36).

Restructuring: Paradigm Shift

A number of important changes embedded in our attempts to reinvent schooling augur fundamental shifts in our view of education. That is, the potential to dramatically alter our understanding of schooling is woven throughout these transformation efforts. To begin with, restructuring encompasses a basic change in our view of the relationship between the school and its environment. Historically ingrained notions of schools as sheltered monopolies, or delivery systems, are breaking down under the incursions of a market philosophy into education (see Boyd, 1990; Boyd & Hartman, 1988). The traditional dominant relationship between schools (and professional educators) and the public is being reworked in favor of more equal arrangements, i.e., partnerships (Seeley, 1980, 1988). For the first time in our history, the business of schooling is being redefined in relation to the customer. Restructuring is facilitating unprecedented inroads of market forces into the governance and organization of schools.

Consistent with this change are efforts to develop new forms of school organization and management. The hierarchical, bureaucratic organizational structures that have defined schools over the past 100 years are giving way to more decentralized (Guthrie, 1986; Murphy & Hart,

1988) and more professionally controlled systems (David, 1989; Houston, 1989)--systems that "can be thought of as a new paradigm for school management" (Wise, 1989, p. 303). In these new post-industrial organizations (see Beare, 1989), labeled "heterarchies" by Maccoby (1989), are found "very basic changes in roles, relationships, and responsibilities" (Seeley, 1988, p. 35): traditional patterns of relationships are altered (Conley, 1989), authority flows are less hierarchical (Clark & Meloy, 1989), role definitions are both more general and flexible (Corcoran, 1989), leadership is connected to competence for needed tasks rather than to formal position (American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education, 1988; Angus, 1988; Maccoby 1988, 1989), and independence and isolation are replaced by cooperative work (Beare, 1989). In addition, a traditional structural orientation is being overshadowed by a focus on the human element. The operant goal is no longer maintenance of the organizational infrastructure but rather the development of human resources (Mojkowski & Fleming, 1988). Developing learning climates and organizational adaptivity are being substituted for the more traditional emphasis on uncovering and applying the one best model of performance (Clark & Meloy, 1989; McCarthey & Peterson, 1989). The changed metaphors being applied to these restructured schools--e.g., from principal as manager to principal as facilitator, from teacher as worker to teacher as leader--nicely portray these fundamental revisions in our views of organizations and our conceptions of management. They reveal a reorientation in transformed schools from control to empowerment.

At the same time, a better understanding of the education production function has begun to be translated into "dramatically different way[s] of thinking about the design, delivery, and documentation of instructional programs" (Spady, 1988, p. 8). Underlying these changes are radically different ways of thinking about the "educability of humanity" (Purpel, 1989, p. 10). Schools historically organized to produce results consistent with the normal curve, to sort youth into the various strata needed to fuel the economy, are being redesigned to ensure equal opportunity and success for all learners (see Miller & Brookover, 1986). Seeley (1988, p. 34) astutely notes the importance of this change when he comments that "it represents a significant shift in the goals of our educational system, and a fundamental component of a new vision, since all other components gain motive force from this shift in goals." New views about what is worthy of learning are also emerging in restructured schools. In classrooms, the traditional emphasis on content coverage and rote learning of basic skills is being challenged by more in-depth treatment of topics and a focus on higher-order thinking skills (Carnegie Council for Adolescent Development, 1989). Attention has been turned to active learning and a century-old concern for independent work and competition is slowly receding in favor of more cooperative learning relationships (David, 1989).

Underlying these changes is an evolution in the sacred values of education (see Lortie, 1975; Corbett, Firestone, & Rossman, 1987) and in approaches to improvement (see Murphy, 1990, for an analysis). Alterations in roles and responsibilities are being accompanied by

changes in beliefs and values, and holistic, global, and comprehensive reform efforts are replacing the earlier "wave[s] of discrete programs and approaches" (David, 1989, p. 45; see also Lindquist & Muriel, 1989; Seeley, 1988). For example, discussions about the purpose of schooling have been reopened (Elmore, 1988) as the needs of the economy have changed. Teacher egalitarianism and isolation are beginning to crack under the new organizational imperatives for differentiated roles and collegial work. And success is no longer defined primarily in terms of providing services (processes) but rather in terms of product quality (outcomes) (Bolin, 1989; Murphy & Hart, 1988).

## RESTRUCTURING: CAPTURING THE PHENOMENA

Education restructuring generally encompasses systemic changes in one or more of the following: organization and governance structures, work roles and organizational milieu, core technology (the teaching-learning process), and connections between the school and its larger environment. Restructuring also involves fundamental alterations in the relationships among the players involved in the educational process. Figure 1 provides a picture of these changes in organizational elements and relationships. This framework guides our work on restructuring at the National Center for Educational Leadership (for a fuller treatment, see Murphy and Evertson, in press). The boxes represent the key <u>actors</u>, e.g., parents and teachers. The lines connecting the various players are designed to explicate some of the predominant <u>components</u> of restructuring. The concepts in the circles--school-based management, teacher empowerment,

voice/choice, and teaching for understanding--represent the four most prevalent strategies employed under the rubric of restructuring to transform schools. The italicized phrases, e.g., teachers as leaders, are the new metaphors of restructuring.

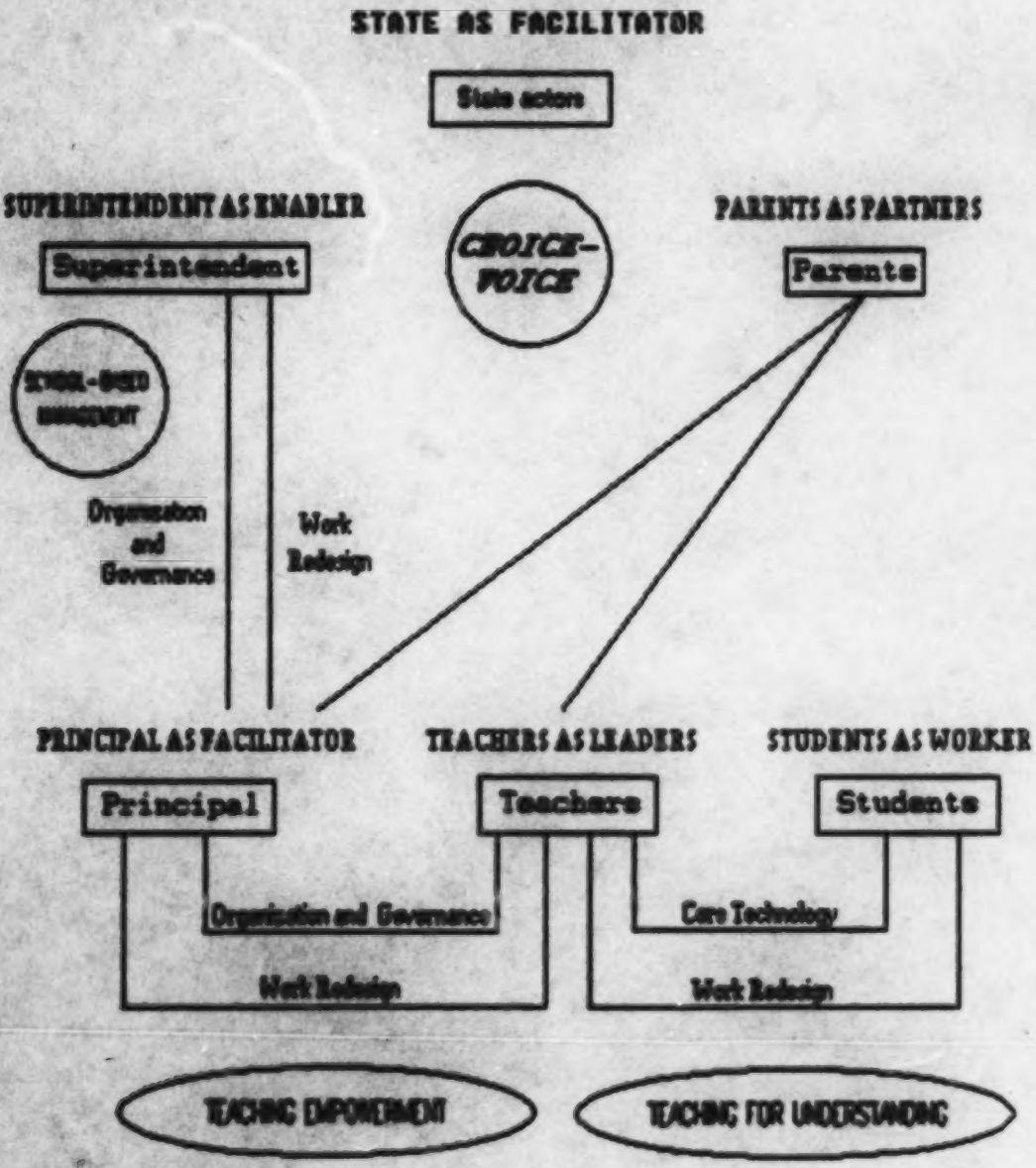


FIGURE 1: RESTRUCTURING: CAPTURING THE PHENOMENA
(Joseph J. Murphy & C. Everton, Restructuring Schools: Capturing the Phenomena, Teachers College Press, forthcoming)

Even a cursory review of the framework in Figure 1 shows the complexity involved in transforming schooling. It should also be obvious that restructuring can begin in a variety of places and employ a number of different strategies depending upon the specific objectives sought (see Elmore, 1989). The framework is also designed to convey the message that real education transformation will require the involvement of all the key players, work on all components of the system, and the simultaneous use of four distinct but interrelated restructuring strategies. To date, most efforts at reformation have emphasized only one or two strategies. Teacher empowerment held center stage at the outset of the restructuring movement. More recently, attention has shifted to school-based management and parental choice/voice. Considerably less work has been devoted to teaching for understanding, or to redefining the teaching-learning process, although the rumblings of early movements in these areas are becoming more and more audible (see Murphy & Evertson, 1990). We look briefly at each of these four strategies below.

School-based Management

School-based management has been defined in a number of ways. When we analyze these definitions and descriptions, we discover that two concepts--structural decentralization and devolution of authority--characterize much of what has been written. Structural decentralization generally entails the dismantling of larger organizational units into smaller, more responsive ones. This strategy is typically being employed in larger, more heavily centralized districts like Milwaukee, New York, and Chicago. These structural changes are usually accompanied by a

reduction in the number of levels in the hierarchy and the number of middle management personnel. Employees who formerly occupied these middle management roles are sometimes reassigned to support functions in individual schools. In other cases, the money used to fund these positions is freed up to support new initiatives at the school site level. In addition, individual schools in structurally decentralized systems may have the freedom to avoid using the remaining hierarchcial system. As Beare (1989, p. 20) correctly notes, this structural decentralization is, by and large, "being modelled upon the modern corporation, the flexible conglomerate which keeps central control of the essential and strategic areas but allows entrepreneurial freedom to the operating units" that comprise the corporation.

Devolution of authority is the fundamental concept in school-based management (Lindquist & Muriel, 1989). Under this system of governance, schools, in effect, become deregulated from the district office (Beare, 1989; Murphy & Hart, 1988). We see "sweeping alterations in the basic authority-and-accountability relationships" (Finn & Clements, 1989, p. i). The basic principle of this system is expanded local control and influence, with schools being given greater responsibility for their own affairs (Beare, 1989; Watkins & Lusi, 1989). The strategy of improvement is bottom-up change. Benefits expected from devolving authority to the school site, from making schools the masters of their own fates, include: enhanced concern for equity issues (Mojkowski & Fleming, 1988), stronger educational programs and better student performance (Lindquist & Muriel, 1989; Mojkowski & Fleming, 1988), and greater satisfaction among school personnel and constituents (Lindquist & Muriel, 1989).

Teacher Empowerment

Efforts to empower teachers are designed to improve schooling by professionalizing teaching. The goal is to move away from a position in which teachers are treated as hired hands (Sizer, 1984) or assembly-line workers (Purpel, 1989) to one in which change is teacher driven, not authority driven. While a variety of approaches have been emphasized in attempts to professionalize teaching, two general strategies have received the greatest amount of attention--providing teachers with formal decisionmaking authority and other avenues of influence and redesigning teacher work.

We noted above that school-based management is primarily an alteration in organizational arrangements in school districts. Authority and influence are passed from higher to lower levels of the organization. However, to redistribute authority between organizational levels is one thing, while to reallocate newly acquired influence among actors at the site level is quite another (see Lindelow, 1981). Therefore, teachers and administrators in school districts and individual schools that are working to professionalize teaching are actively seeking vehicles that allow teachers to assume control over decisions that have historically been the province of others. Team approaches to school management and governance are particularly good examples of enhanced teacher participation in decisionmaking.

Reformers concerned with teacher empowerment also envision comprehensive changes in the work performed by teachers in restructured schools. In fact, a number of authors maintain that "the development of

new leadership roles for teachers" [is] "on the crest of the wave" of restructuring (Smylie & Denny, 1989, p. 2). We have already noted one major change in teacher work--expanded responsibilities in the decisionmaking arena. Teachers in some schools are also beginning to fill new professional roles as well, e.g., master teachers. In these and related cases, the basic teaching role itself is altered. Finally, work redesign for teachers in restructured schools may include the development of more permanent career opportunities--through the creation of differentiated staffing, for example--that permit teachers to advance in the profession without leaving their classrooms.

Voice/Choice

In Figure 1, parents are portrayed as key players and voice/choice as one of the main strategies in restructuring proposals. Changes in governance structures and authority flows, in turn, are at the center of new relationships between schools and their constituents. These changes are expressed primarily in three ways. First, restructured schools empower parents and community members (Murphy & Hart, 1988). As a consequence, parents are able to exercise considerably more influence over school decisionmaking processes than is currently the norm (Building the Value-Based School Community, 1989; Educating Our Children, 1989). This enhanced decisionmaking responsibility is usually formalized in new governance arrangements that transfer authority to citizens in the school community.

The partnership metaphor also includes efforts to expand the school community--to unite parents, professional educators, businesses,

universities, foundations, and the general populace into a collective force dedicated to the improvement of schooling for all children. There is an explicit recognition that "to be successful policies and programs cannot concentrate solely on the child but must simultaneously address the needs of two generations--the parent and the child--for they are interdependent" (Jennings, 1990, p. 8). Embedded in the idea of expansion are two related concepts: enhanced community involvement in schools--by parents, business people, and members of the school community--and schools serving as community centers, providing a variety of services for adults and children (see Bradley, 1989; David, 1989; Schmidt, 1989).

The notion of parental choice informs many discussions about transforming the relationship between schools and their constituents. It is persistently argued that only by breaking the sheltered monopoly status enjoyed by public schools will significant improvement be possible. Thus, many restructuring proponents clamor for the adoption of a market philosophy in education (Educating Our Children, 1989), with the accompanying open-enrollment patterns and choices for parents and students that this move would entail.

## Teaching for Understanding[1]

Of the four restructuring strategies pictured in Figure 1, teaching for understanding has received the least amount of attention, both in reform reports and in state-, district-, and school-level efforts to

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[1]For a fuller discussion of this area see Murphy and Evertson (1990).

transform schools. We do know from the limited amount of work done to date, however, that curriculum, instruction, and organizational arrangements for learning look dramatically different in schools that have focused their efforts on restructuring classroom activities and processes. From these early initiatives and from the writing of various educational reformers, we can develop a fairly clear picture of teaching for understanding.

Curricula in restructured schools are characterized by both greater complexity and greater cohesion. Seven changes are often found: (1) expanded use of a core curriculum, (2) an increase in the interdisciplinary nature of content, (3) emphasis on depth of coverage, (4) use of more original source materials, (5) enhanced focus on higher-order learning skills, (6) expanded methods of student assessment, and (7) additional teacher choice (Murphy & Evertson, 1990).

Instructional changes in schools that restructure their educational processes will also be comprehensive and radical. The most fundamental revision will be a shift from teacher-centered to learner-centered pedagogy. The emphasis will be on the student, not on the delivery system. A focus on acquiring information will be replaced by a concern for ability to use knowledge. Teachers will no longer be "in the coverage business but in the learning success business" (Spady, 1988, p. 7). In this revised approach, teachers will act as facilitators (McCarthey & Peterson, 1989), modelers (Spady, 1988), and coaches (Sizer, 1984) who invest "students with increased power and responsibility for their own learning" (Elmore, 1988, p. 3). The limited teacher-directed

model of instruction that has dominated traditional classrooms (see Goodlad, 1984; Powell, Farrar, & Cohen, 1985; Sizer, 1984) gives way to a greater variety of approaches when teaching for understanding is stressed. Instruction becomes less generic and more personalized. Rather than being suppressed, the complexity of teaching is recognized and built upon in initiatives to revise the core technology of education. Cooperative approaches to learning--in which students work together in teams--are stressed by almost everyone connected with the restructuring of teaching and learning (David, 1989).

Rather significant alterations in the structures used to deliver education services constitute the final component of teaching for understanding. Changes are designed to underscore the centrality of human relationships in schools, to replace program isolation with connectedness, and to promote personal engagement in the teaching-learning process. They represent a fundamental reconceptualization of the school climate--a shift from an emphasis on its physical factors toward a focus on its human elements. At the heart of these calls for organizational change is an increasing disenchantment with impersonal, time-based, calendar-based learning arrangements. For schools concerned with restructuring educational processes, learning theory and student needs take precedence over the custodial interests of parents, administrative convenience, and labor interests (i.e., the need to protect adult jobs in the workplace) in the creation and reshaping of structures to house teaching and learning (Sizer, 1984; Spady, 1988). Calendar-based school organizations give way to structures grounded on

three powerful concepts: (1) mastery- (or outcome-) based learning, (2) developmentally-based learning, and (3) personalized learning.

## THE STATE ROLE IN RESTRUCTURING

In this era of school restructuring, the roles of state policymakers as well as the perspectives they bring to school improvement look significantly different than they have in the past. Policymakers are moving away from the historically accepted role of monitor of educational process. In its stead, a new tripartite set of responsibilities is emerging. First, state actors are taking the lead role in working with all stakeholders in the educational process to establish a vision of education, and to translate that vision into desired student outcomes.[2] Second, they are supporting--through as wide an array of methods as possible--efforts at the district, school, and classroom levels to empower parents and professional educators, to nurture the evolution of new forms of governance and organization, and to encourage the development of a new core technology for classrooms. In short, state-level policymakers are actively subscribing to the principles and components of restructuring noted earlier. Third, they are holding systems accountable for what they accomplish. Operating under this guideline, state policy actors will be much less involved in the micro-level management of the educational enterprise. Rather, they will play a key role in setting direction and in assessing results (not

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[2]The work of the Southern Regional Education Board is an excellent example of state-level activity in this area.

processes or efforts). Parents, professional educators, and students in each school will in turn be much freer to direct their own destinies.

Earlier this year in Education Week, Jane Armstrong (1990), director of policy studies for the Education Commission of the States (ECS), summarized the input of more than 300 participants from two workshops on restructuring sponsored by the ECS and the National Governors' Association. She listed 13 steps that policymakers can take to facilitate school restructuring. In total, the road map she presents provides an excellent framework for state policymakers:

1. Develop a vision of desired student outcomes and a vision of a restructured education system.
2. Build a coalition of business, community, education and political leaders.
3. Gain public and political support.
4. Provide flexibility, encourage experimentation, and decentralize decisionmaking.
5. Shift state and local education agency roles from enforcement to assistance.
6. Restructure teacher and administrator education.
7. Provide ongoing development opportunities for every teacher and administrator.
8. Hold the system accountable.
9. Give all students every chance to learn and contribute.
10. Use policies as catalysts to promote and support restructuring.
11. Identify pilot restructuring sites.
12. Find new resources and reallocate existing resources for restructuring.
13. Use technology to support restructuring.

A similar set of "state actions to launch restructuring" (p. 36) has been described by Jane David and her colleagues (1990) in the National Governors' Association report State Actions to Restructure Schools: First Steps. They recommend that policymakers promote a vision, spread the word, build statewide support for restructuring, invite school and district participation, provide support (flexibility, time, and assistance), shift the state role (away from compliance and towards objectives, assistance, and outcomes), focus on results, and maintain visibility. In addition, unlike with the reforms of the early 1980s, they remind us that:

> for each state, the beginning steps of restructuring are exploratory. This is uncharted territory with no road maps. Inside schools, districts, and state agencies, leaders and educators are learning by experimenting (p. 35).

## SUMMARY

We know that in every state in the country efforts are afoot to change schooling significantly. To date, most of these restructuring efforts have focused on empowering teachers and parents, changing governance structures and management patterns, and altering the roles and work of teachers. Incipient efforts are also underway to transform the teaching-learning process itself. Collectively, these strategies represent new ways of thinking about education in general and about schooling specifically.

The re-creation of schooling will mean new ways of conducting business for all the actors in education, including stakeholders at the state level. It is important, therefore, that policymakers understand

school restructuring and be able to assess its likely impact on the educational enterprise. Those among them who view the planks of restructuring as a good foundation on which to construct a new model of schooling will need to reorient their own thinking. Historically ingrained roles will need to be discarded. More attention will need to be devoted to leading the discussion about how the new building called school should look--in helping others see the possibilities and in helping frame a picture (vision) of the new dwelling--and in providing the workers--parents, teachers, students, and administrators--the support they need to complete the facility. Much less attention will need to be provided to establishing detailed construction specifications, to specifying building materials, and to micro-managing the construction process itself.

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